Thesis/
Reports
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Eastside Ecosystem Management Project
Communities of Interest
& Their Social Values

98-7-680

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EASTSIDE ECOSYSTEM MANAGEMENT PROJECT
Communities of Interest & Their Social Values

Review Draft

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February 10, 1995

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Preface

The following report was prepared by University scientists through cooperative agreement, project science staff, or contractors as part of the ongoing efforts of the Interior Columbia Basin Ecosystem Management Project, co-managed by the U.S. Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management. It was prepared for the express purpose of compiling information, reviewing available literature, researching topics related to ecosystems within the Interior Columbia Basin, or exploring relationships among biophysical and economic/social resources.

This report has been reviewed by agency scientists as part of the ongoing ecosystem project. The report may be cited within the primary products produced by the project or it may have served its purposes by furthering our understanding of complex resource issues within the Basin. This report may become the basis for scientific journal articles or technical reports by the USDA Forest Service or USDI Bureau of Land Management. The attached report has not been through all the steps appropriate to final publishing as either a scientific journal article or a technical report.

EASTSIDE ECOSYSTEM MANAGEMENT PROJECT

Communities of Interest & Their Social Values

Review Draft -- February 10, 1995

This report provides a preliminary *review draft* narrative description of social values and perspectives for several *communities of interest* potentially affected by the Eastside Ecosystem Management Project:

- Miners
- Ranchers
- Farmers
- Loggers
- Fishers
- Quality of Life Migrants
- Visitors (recreation/tourism)

This listing by no means represents all communities of interest found in rural or urban areas of the Columbia River basin. It does represent interests of those with close ties to the land (excepting Native Americans and farm laborers), as well as more recent in-migrants drawn to the land for what might be considered as non-economic quality of life reasons. Also not considered in this report are the values of many urban area residents and business owners in the Columbia River basin, as well as perceptions of those who live outside and do not visit the basin region.

On the pages which follow, we provide a brief description of each community of interest together with a listing of pertinent social value considerations. This information is drawn from a variety of sources including:

- Contacts with representatives of public and private sector organizations in 15 counties conducted in June of 1994.
- An annotated list of references compiled for communities of interest also compiled initially as of June 1994 and subsequently updated.
- Previous project experience of the consulting firm E.D. Hovee & Company on similar assignments involving social value analysis and/or community assessments in other western states -- primarily Oregon and Washington.

It is noted that our research to date has uncovered surprisingly little detailed empirical analysis and documentation of the social values for the communities of interest most directly affected by management alternatives that may be considered for the Columbia River basin. Consequently, many though not all of the observations offered by this report are based more on qualitative analysis including anecdotal accounts than on quantitative research.[1]

This research report is intentionally concise, but is extensively annotated with end notes. Documentation is provided from sources pertinent to the Columbia Basin region, including references to trends or examples from outside the region but which are more generally

applicable. No attempt is made to verify or validate the perspective of any particular reference source. Extensive use is made of quotations to provide comments using the words of the source document.

MINERS

Many of the original miners that came to the west were single, white, entrepreneurially oriented men. Some came seeking quick profit, and when the best was taken, they moved on. Others stayed on, sent for their families and homesteaded the land. Many of these families eventually took up other economic activities such as farming, ranching, logging and other occupations as the mines became less productive.

In general, miners have traditionally and still, to some degree, share the following types of values:

- Minerals and other natural resources were put on earth to be used as a means of extracting livelihood and wealth.[2] [3]
- While admittedly fragile, the earth is a resilient and self renewing place. Some environmental degradation may be a natural if not inevitable consequence of growth and progress.[4]
- Hard work, hard play and honest living will sustain a person through most challenges.[5]
- Success requires that some risks be taken.[6]
- It is important to make money while you can because hard times may be just around the corner.
- Political authority, planning and regulation tend to diminish a person's rights.[7]
- If something is working okay, don't change it.
- An independent and self-reliant lifestyle is key to successful living.[8]

In the post World War II era, the mining business has changed dramatically with the introduction both of new technology and environmental laws. In comparison with mining in the early days of the west, new miners tend to:

- Be more trained and experienced.[9]
- Move frequently to follow job opportunities. [10]
- Rent rather than own housing.
- Limit community involvement, yet may volunteer for civic functions such as fire department, emergency medical treatment, etc.
- Value hard work and personal productivity.
- Trade in currency rather than barter or other exchange.
- Continue to exhibit a greater concern for personal livelihood than for the well-being of the environment.[11]

RANCHERS

Individuals and families involved in ranching traditionally are known to take a fairly long-term time perspective. Ranchers are often committed to their homes. their land and the cohesiveness of their families and communities. Many of these values are shared with miners -- especially with regard to the priorities placed on an independent lifestyle and hard work. Several differences, however, are noteworthy:

- Ranchers often view their role as caretakers of the land, to maintain the environment, its ongoing production capability and beauty, including conservation of forest and water resources. This sense of stewardship may be viewed as enhancing rather than detracting from environmental values.[12 13 14 15]
- There is a sense of intimacy or belonging to the land that ranchers may believe outsiders could never have.[16 17 18 19]
- Careful planning and diversification of crops, livestock and income sources is important to stem economic swings and establish a financial reserve for future emergencies. Ranchers have lived through previous boom-bust cycles and therefore understand survival as well as the imperative to plan ahead.[20 21]
- Many forms of commerce are achieved through barter and exchange rather than solely by selling time and commodities for money.[22 23]
- It is important to know when to help your neighbor and be of service but also to know when to mind one's own business.
- Establishing boundary lines and fences and posting of land is resisted as interfering with individual rights and ability to generate a livelihood.[24]
- There is an appreciation for peace, quiet and remoteness, coupled with concern for too much growth in a region and resulting encroachment on the resource base and personal privacy.[25]
- It is wise to buy and sell commodities locally and keep businesses under family ownership.[26]
- Land is one's home. identity and lifestyle; one must hang onto it against all odds.[27 28]
- Government, big business and other large organizations are not to be trusted; ranchers are often wary of planning or any external controls which may limit or remove free choice.[29 30 31]
- Predators represent a threat to livestock; ranchers expect to exercise the prerogative to destroy or remove predators affecting their property.[32]
- There is great importance attached to enjoyment of outdoor recreation (e.g. hunting and fishing), accompanied by more recent concerns over deteriorating habitat and/or regulations limiting access.

Ranchers remember the heydays of other natural resource activities -- particularly mining and logging. They have seen prosperity ebb and flow. They have seen the land partially recover from

over zealous resource extraction activities (particularly logging and mining). They have seen towns start from nothing and sometimes end the same way.[33]

Many of the values and lifestyles held by ranchers during the homesteading days are still valid today. There are, however, significant changes worth noting. For ranching families, especially descendants of original families, the pioneer days are remembered as well as subsequent boom and the bust periods.

Ranches established during the homesteading era were often 160 acres in size. Over the years, the more successful ranchers purchased other homesteads. Larger and more successful ranchers have acquired yet additional land. These large acreages are more common in mountainous and desert areas where forage for cattle is sparse.

Many of these larger land holders, especially descendants of pioneers, still have mines and claims on their land. Some ranchers may lease their land to mineral companies for exploration. Still others sell or lease water rights for a variety of irrigation and other purposes.

While ranches are generally not as lucrative financially as they once were, many of them continue to operate although other outside income is frequently required to make ends meet. Many families stay and run an operation at break even level or even at a loss to maintain what is perceived as a desirable lifestyle. And the population of operators is getting older, as younger family members are discouraged by poor economic prospects associated with ranching.[34]

Long-time ranchers fear that ranching may become a lost art as more land is not being used to its original level of productivity. Ranchers believe that outsiders have a simplistic understanding of their lifestyle and of the natural habitat in which ranching and grazing occurs. For example, range livestock has become problematic as newcomers who do not understand the open space open range philosophy have fenced off and posted smaller parcels. This has served to limit access to certain grazing ground and watering spots and created conflicts between ranching and other interests.

FARMERS

Farmers share many of the values noted above with ranchers. Because they often live closer to population centers and market their products differently, they have distinctive values of their own. These often include placing high priority on:

- Gradually improving the quality and quantity of productive ground over time to generate increased returns on investment and remain competitive.[35]
- Building strong communities and foster cooperation to ensure overall well-being. These values are more conducive, for example, to the formation of cooperatives and political involvement in the local community. [36] [37]

- Producing as much as possible to put money away during the good years in order to survive the bad years.
- Growing a few crops very well and develop a strong market for them (monoculture).[38]
- Financing to cover the expected value of the annual crop.
- Water rights as the "lifeblood" to increased productivity and higher value agriculture.[39] [40] [41]
- Similar dependence on marine (i.e. barge) transportation for shipment of farm commodities inland (e.g. fertilizers) and bulk commodities out to market from the Columbia basin.[42]

As with ranchers, the social values of farmers are evolving to keep pace with changing technology, markets and lifestyles. An increasing proportion of farmers now depend upon non-farm income as a major source of family earnings.[43] Consolidation of farms has meant that a given acreage supports fewer families. This can mean less social life and interaction occurring within rural communities. There is also growing experimentation by younger farmers with alternatives to monoculture, including more diverse crops and organic practices.[44] [45] [46]

Dryland farming no longer involves as much non-family labor, except for corporate farms and holdings not managed by a family member. Irrigated crops still require farm labor. Farm labor has transitioned to increased dependence on migrants. And in recent years, the migrant population in many communities has become increasingly permanent.[47]

FORESTRY WORKERS

Loggers, mill workers, skidders, truck drivers, and others involved in forestry and forest products share some similarities but also exhibit values divergent from those involved in other natural resource occupations. While some forestry related workers may also own farms and ranches, this discussion focuses on those whose primary occupation is with timber production, harvesting and processing. As with other resource based lifestyles, the market price for timber products and total level of demand fluctuates widely and significantly effects income levels from one year to the next.

Where women often have been full participants in the running of a ranch, farm or orchard, the timber industry traditionally has been a more male oriented occupation. And since logging must be done where the trees are located, this profession has historically tended to foster a somewhat more nomadic lifestyle. This has made it difficult to achieve permanency of communities for those workers with families.

In general, values of loggers could be placed midway between the ranchers and miners, but with some particularly distinctive traits:

- Trees are a renewable resource and are to be harvested as any other agricultural crop.[48] [49]
- The beauty of the environment is important; there is interest in the long-term safety and sustainability of the forest resource.[50]
- The government is often viewed as an impediment to free enterprise and personal freedom.[51] [52]
- Independence and self-reliance are highly valued.[53]
- Hard work and hard play are a sign of good character.[54] [55]
- The family comes first.
- Involvement in community affairs is not a high priority.

Recent years have been traumatic for a large share of the western U.S. workforce involved in logging, mill jobs and related forestry and forest product occupations. Total employment has declined as a result of a variety of factors ranging from mill automation to log exports to curtailed logging on public lands.

Some forest products workers have retired; others have gone through retraining programs and/or found alternative employment. Some have shifted their focus from logging of public to private lands, particularly small woodlot holdings. Often, a new job is found in another community (particularly a larger urban area), requiring either a long commute or relocation of the family. Some remain in the industry, but are finding work outside the Columbia Basin region, for example, in places ranging from Alaska to the former Soviet Union or South America.

The competition for a shrinking supply of available timber has renewed longstanding conflicts between large corporate entities versus small independent operators ranging from independent contract loggers to owners of small mills. Timber dependent communities often have experienced increased incidence of social distress, ranging from substance and domestic abuse issues to an increase in single parent households.[56]

This transition also has spawned renewed interest in alternative forestry practices and forest products. A particular emphasis is on alternatives to clear cut timber harvesting. Where available, individuals and families are harvesting other plant species such as mushrooms and ferns for commercial as well as recreational or personal use.[57]

FISHERS

Fishing represents an important activity in the west -- both economically and symbolically. Many Native American tribal traditions have centered on fishing -- both ocean and freshwater. Early Caucasian settlers found fishing to be highly lucrative.

Commercial river fishing faded as an economic activity with the introduction of dams to the Columbia River system and early overfishing, including such mechanisms as fish wheels.

However, access to recreational fishing has remained an important part of western tradition. And in more recent years. economic opportunities have risen for occupations such as outfitters and guides.[58]

Social values of persons involved in commercial fishing include:

- Strong emphasis on personal independence and freedom from government interference.
- Investment in home. boat, and/or other fishing related equipment as principal personal economic assets.
- High value on family life, counter balanced by extended periods away from home and intense work hours when fish are in season.
- Acceptance of high levels of risk associated with variable weather, fish availability, and market conditions, including potential personal danger for those out at sea.
- Appreciation for the bounty and fragility of fishery related resources.
- Intense rivalry with others competing for the same resource.[59]
- Maintenance of fish habitat and, where practicable, restoration of runs that have been destroyed through habitat degradation or dam projects.[60]

In recent years, those involved in commercial fishing have learned to cooperate more to address regulatory, fish habitat and environmental issues of mutual interest. As in forest products, declining fish resources and technological advances are causing many to leave this occupation, in some cases, leaving their boats as essentially worthless or traveling further (e.g. to Alaska) to fish.[61] Those who keep their own boats are investing in more sophisticated equipment to find fish and comply with safety requirements. Others who leave the industry in some cases even abandon their boats as there are few buyers in what is considered a declining occupation.[62]

Persons employed as outfitters and guides have seen opportunities expand and then contract. Future opportunities are clouded by more stringent regulations on recreational fishing -- both ocean and tributaries. Those remaining in the industry are often supportive of measures to maintain or restore fish habitat -- even at the possible expense of persons or firms involved in other natural resource occupations (e.g. mining, ranching, farming and logging).

QUALITY OF LIFE MIGRANTS

Considered here are quality of life migrants -- notably people who have moved to rural areas of the Columbia basin for what might be considered as primarily non-economic reasons. This move back to rural areas is gaining increased attention both regionally and nationally.[63] [64]

At least three distinct sub-groups, each with its own characteristics and values, can be identified:

- Educated wilderness migrants
- Urban refugees
- Retirees

Quality of life migrants may bring values which are in conflict with those of longer term residents, particularly persons with a natural resource based occupation. Both migrants and long-time residents tend to place high value on the natural environment, albeit often for diverse reasons.[65]

In some communities, these more *footloose* migrants and the *old-timers* have learned over time to work together despite value differences. In other communities, significant and lasting conflicts develop.[66]

Educated wilderness migrants have also been described as "back to the landers."[67] This group is thought to be the largest of the recent arrivals in some communities, with an initial wave of movement to rural communities starting in the late 1960s and 1970s. This grouping also encompasses individuals who have what has often been described as counterculture values including orientation to a more holistic or alternative lifestyle.[68]

These migrants often tend to arrive in their 20s to mid 40s having previously lived and worked in an urban or suburban setting. Most have completed high school and many have completed undergraduate or even graduate degrees. These people often have come to a rural area seeking:

- A more pristine environment.[69]
- A slower, more relaxed place.
- An opportunity to contribute to and be a part of a caring, supportive and responsible community.[70]
- More affordable land and living costs.[71]
- An opportunity to (at least partially) live off the land.[72]
- Greater privacy and personal freedom.
- A more basic, simpler and often more labor intensive lifestyle.[73]
- An opportunity to have some control over their new environment.
- An opportunity to learn to live in harmony with nature.

Many of the educated wilderness migrants have left behind a more affluent lifestyle. Some, especially migrants to more remote areas, prefer to barter or trade for some of their goods and services. Some of the basic values invited by these individuals include:

- A sense of responsibility for the well-being of the environment and the healing of the planet.[74] [75]
- Mistrust of government, big business and large organizations.
- Respect for Native American and minority groups.[76]

- Control over one's personal environment (including a tendency to fence and post one's land).
- More concern for personal growth and development than for acquisition of possessions or status.
- Valuation of quality of life as an economic attribute that is of equal or greater importance compared with more traditional financial considerations.[77] [78]
- A reluctance to accept population growth and increased density of development.
- A willingness to confront ideas and practices thought to be inappropriate.
- Some tendency toward entrepreneurial activity (ranging from artisans to telecommuters).[79] [80]
- Increasing willingness to commute longer distances for employment.[81]

Much like the more established homesteader/pioneer groups, educated wilderness migrants tend to cultivate a variety of income sources and skills in order to provide the required amount of income to sustain personal and/or family needs. Others have built specialty businesses with primary markets in the urban centers. Communicating via fax machines and computer modems, these entrepreneurs can live in the near wilderness and yet have a legitimate business presence in metro areas as diverse as New York, San Francisco or Seattle.

While these migrants are used to getting along with less, they often bring with them the expectations and demands for certain services that were part of their former urban lives. Some of those people who arrived in the 1970s (including those with counterculture values) are also beginning to assume leadership in their communities and county governments.

A second sub-group consists of what might be termed as *urban refugees*. This group has some similarities with and coexist with wilderness migrants but with a very important distinction: they have come to *get away from* their former lives in the cities rather than seeking out a preferred lifestyle.

So-called refugees may include Vietnam era war veterans, low income and poverty families, people wanting to distance themselves from the law, and people looking for an easier way of life. Some people in this sub-group tend to remain in the region only a few years, eventually pulling up stakes and moving on.

Characteristics and values reportedly held by urban refugees may include:

- A mix of education levels, job skills or a means of making money (but often with less resources than the educated wilderness migrants).
- Strong survival orientation (with less emphasis on values of personal growth and development).
- Greater problems with socialization and communication.
- Some tendency toward inaccurate or overly optimistic appraisal of the demands and rigors of rural life.

- Less concern and understanding for environmental issues.
- Strong need to isolate from others.
- Resistance to change -- especially if accompanied by regulation.
- Fear of or anger toward government and authority.[82]

Retirees constitute a third distinct sub-group. Retirees have had a great impact on rural areas of the Columbia basin with a significant level of renewed in-migration starting in about the late 1980s. Some western communities have explicitly targeted retirees as a desired new source of economic security -- based upon stable retirement incomes not dependent on local economic conditions or on willingness to start their own business even if it offers less net income than the former job in an urban area.[83]

Characteristics and values of retirees may include:

- Arrival with a significant nest egg consisting of a pension and retirement compensation, sale proceeds from a home or business, and other assets.
- Desire for a slower paced and more friendly community setting than can be achieved in an urban area.[84]
- Offering a useful set of skills and abilities which may be used to start a retirement business or volunteered in support of community initiatives.[85]
- Time and willingness to participate in community and civic projects and functions.
- Provision of economic support for a service rather than natural resource based economy.
- Preference for living in a town or nearby rural area with access to shopping, financial and medical services.[86]
- Willingness and ability to pay for services not historically available in the region -- especially in the health care area.
- Preference to purchase rather than rent a home.
- Great love for the outdoors, the natural beauty and recreational offerings of the area.[87]
- Welcoming limitations on growth and progress in the area subsequent to their arrival.

Retired middle class refugees often are accepted as newcomers and viewed as being a positive contribution to the social and economic fabric of their adopted community. Many of those choosing to live in a rural area are fairly young retirees with some purchasing real estate in anticipation of retiring. However, this can have the added effect of increasing property values above previous local standards, further stressing an already tight housing market and stimulating increased property tax assessments.

VISITORS (Tourism/Recreation)

There is no single profile that can be applied uniformly to those who visit the Columbia basin. This is due both to the diversity of attractions and the markets from which tourists and recreationists are drawn.[88] [89]

For the sake of discussion. at least four separate communities of interest may be identified for those who visit public lands in the Columbia basin:

- Traditional family groupings
- Retirees
- Adventure travelers
- Ecotourists

Characteristics of each group are profiled in turn.[90]

Traditional family groupings represent a long-term mainstay of tourism activity in the region.[91] While national experience points towards a trend of shorter extended weekend getaways as opposed to the traditional 1-3 week summer vacation, this community of interest remains an important component of tourist and recreational facility usage in the Columbia basin.[92]

Characteristics of the traditional family visitor market include:

- Strong orientation to summer facility usage and water related activities (when school is out), and traditionally with lesser winter demand for snow related recreation.
- A spectrum of occupations and incomes, ranging from blue collar working class families (as heavy users of campground areas) to upper and middle income professionals (with stronger orientation to use of master planned destination resort properties).
- Attraction to active recreation pursuits such as swimming, water skiing, boating, fishing, hunting, snow skiing, etc.[93]
- Preference for well established recreation sites which provide a predictable experience in a secure environment year after year.

Retirees constitute a second significant and growing segment of recreation and tourism related activity. Today's generation of retirees is healthier and more affluent than any in American history, with a large segment having a strong desire for travel.[94] Characteristics of note include:

- Strong shoulder season (i.e. spring and fall) as well as summer use of rural public lands.
- Interest in the more passive end of the sports spectrum that appeals to families (e.g. fishing and boating) as well as golf.

- High proportion using recreational vehicle (RV) and fifth wheel types of vehicles.
- Relatively high participation in organized group tours.
- Orientation to low cost yet quality services and facilities.

A third community of interest could be described in current vernacular as *adventure travelers*. This grouping comprises long-time interests of hunters and fishers as well as more recent expanded interests in adventure pursuits such as whitewater rafting, kayaking and mountain climbing. Adventure seekers can be profiled on the basis of several characteristics:

- Demographically, adventure travelers are generally middle to upper income and relatively well educated.
- Many though not all activities are conducted by non-family groupings of the same gender.
- Value of the adventure is related to the thrill and risk of the activity.
- Appreciation of scenic beauty is coupled with the desire to access primitive areas and a sense of conquering nature.[95]

The fourth and most recently emerging community of interest is represented by the *ecotourist*. Ecotourism is noted as one of the most rapidly growing forms of visitor travel nationally -- but particularly in the Pacific Northwest.

Ecotourism consists of a variety of activities which provide an opportunity to combine recreation with appreciation of and minimal disruption to the natural environment.[96] Those in the travel industry sometimes have referred to ecotourism as *soft adventure* travel.[97]

Hiking, windsurfing, cross-country skiing, mountain biking, wildlife viewing, nature tours and visitation at interpretive facilities exemplify the ecotravel ethic. Also emerging are more participatory activities such as involvement in habitat restoration, wildlife and plant inventories, and events with a spiritual/healing orientation.[98]

This community of interest can be profiled as:

- Generally relatively well educated and with mid to upper incomes.
- Comprising a wide range of age groupings, from high school and college students to the elderly.
- Placing high value on the quality of the experience, e.g. integrity of the natural setting.[99]
- Often drawn to experience solitude, meditation or spirituality.
- Tending to be more active politically and in fund raising than other visitor-related communities of interest often with a particular interest in environmental protection.

End Notes

[1] While information has been obtained from sources deemed to be reliable, we do not guarantee accuracy or applicability of this analysis to all situations affecting a particular community of interest. It is noted that there can be wide divergence of values within a community of interest -- depending upon characteristics such as location within the Columbia basin, age and education of an individual, status of land ownership, and individual preferences.

Observations, opinions and conclusions are those of the author and should not be construed as representing the viewpoint of any other individual or organization without their prior written endorsement. Contents of this draft report are subject to modification, based on comments received in response to this draft as well as further research yet to be undertaken.

[2] "Western Water, Made Simple," *High Country News*, Edit., 1987, p. 10. An article in this newsletter describes the symbolic importance of mining in the western United States as follows: "The rural Western ethic is that all wealth comes out of the ground, either as grass growing or as minerals being mined. The butchering and marketing of the animals raised on the grass, the smelting and shaping of the mined ore into pitchforks or pins or computer parts..."

[3] "Striking A Balance Between Business and Nature," *Initiatives*, Summer 1994, p. 5. Members of the board of an Oregon non-profit, Rural Development Initiatives, Connie and Doc Hatfield are interested in seeing economic opportunities expand for rural Oregon. Doc Hatfield comments, for example, that: "Rural towns are dependent upon natural resources, and that will probably continue."

[4] Dennis Farney, "Chaos Theory Seeps Into Ecology Debate, Stirring Up a Tempest," *Wall Street Journal*, July 11, 1994. This article describes the growing divergence of opinion about human ability to understand and effectively manage the natural environment. The author observes: "...Another, metaphorical gale is now roaring through the fields of scholarly thought about nature -- and, by extension, threatening the confident faith in progress that has informed Western thought for centuries. This storm is the special province of Dr. Worster, a nationally recognized environmental historian here at the University of Kansas...Through reason man would discover the 'laws of nature.' If man could just know enough and apply that knowledge, things would get better and better. But now doubts are eroding this secular faith. Nature, once viewed as inherently orderly, is coming to be viewed by many (although certainly not all) scientists as inherently disorderly. And human history, once viewed as something that rational man could bend to his liking, is increasingly viewed as a force unto itself."

[5] E.D. Hovee & Company for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, *Existing Socioeconomic Conditions Baseline Report: Crown Jewel Project*, February 8, 1994, pp. 55-95, prepared for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service and State of Washington Department of Ecology. Many of the observations contained in this review of mine related lifestyles and values as well as several other communities of interest are drawn from social values interviews conducted for a proposed gold mine project in Okanogan County, Washington.

[6] Bruce A. Wilson, *Late Frontier: A History of Okanogan County, Washington*, 1990, p. 64. A history of a rural eastern Washington county provides this picture of mining at the turn of the century: "Though capitalists, promoters, stage drivers, freighters, claim holders, claim jumpers, frontier merchants, blacksmiths, bartenders, cooks, and camp followers all played traditional roles, the principal actors in this storied and pulsating period" were young day laborers who worked non-stop in often unending and hazardous conditions.

[7] Bob Eure, "Idaho Insurrection," *The Oregonian*, Section A, January 29, 1995. This article provides one example of the local reaction in a mining community to changes in federal management of mining activity: "In the week following the Ezra decision, about 2,200 people gathered at an outdoor protest in Salmon in sub-zero

weather. The town was rife with rumors of rebellion. At the Yellow Jacket Gold Mine about an hour outside town, miners reportedly were posting armed guards at the entrance until a veteran forest ranger calmed them down. Idaho Lt. Governor Butch Otter went on the local radio station to urge nonviolence."

[8] Kettle River History Club, *Reflections of the Kettle River Region: Bodie, Curlew, Danville, Ferry, Malo, Toroda, and Surrounding Areas*, p. 17. This book offers an historical recounting of the lure of mining in Ferry County, Washington (and still an active mining area): "Mining of course, was the primary reason for this area being opened up...Other prospectors began drifting into the area in the 1880's and early 1890's from surrounding counties and Canada where mining had already been in progress for some time...On February 21, 1896 when the North half of Ferry County was opened up to mineral entry we are told that there was a long, never ending line, of prospectors and mining men from every walk of life and of every caliber waiting for the opening of doors to Stevens County Courthouse in Colville, to file on claims already located."

[9] E.D. Hovee & Company for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, *Existing Socioeconomic Conditions Baseline Report: Crown Jewel Project*, pp. 102-129. This report also contains results of contacts of other mining operations in the western U.S., including Alaska.

[10] Thomas Michael Power, *The Economic Pursuit of Quality*, 1988, p. 172. The author further describes the effects of a transient workforce for the worker and community affected: "...Those who come and go depending on the temporary availability of jobs and differences in wages have little in common to any particular place and there is little social cost to a particular community when they move on. Such out-migration is a relatively costless adjustment, a safety valve for the community that allows it to protect it's 'core' while making necessary adjustments to shifting economic conditions."

[11] David Seideman, *Showdown At Opal Creek: The Battle For America's Last Wilderness*, 1993, p. 180. A description of a forest resource management conflict in western Oregon offers an incident to illustrate some behavior similarities shared by miners and loggers: "...A last brush with miners from the primitive school occurred a few years ago. Before the market's bottom fell , Shiny Rock had contracted for a crew of drillers from California to stay at Jawbone Flats to drill for copper. On payday they spent their checks -- with the ink still wet on the stubs -- on refreshments in town...they came into camp bearing the cuts and bruises of a particularly savage evening. Rip-roaring drunk at the Old Fish Hatchery Tavern in Mehama, the drillers would up in a spirited debate with loggers over their respective talents for savaging the environment. The loggers boasted of ripping up trails and mountains. The drillers insisted their true mission was to find black gold. Once it started gushing, they vowed to let the oil pour down the mountainside. The debaters finally resorted to fisticuffs to settle the matter."

[12] J.M. Fowler, D. Rush, J.M. Hawkes, and T.D. Darden, *Economic Characteristics of the Western Livestock Industry*, University of New Mexico College of Agriculture and Home Economics, Report 35, 1992, p. 3. Fowler et al. "Surveyed ranchers have been in the business for long periods, with an average of 31 years on the same ranch. The majority of ranchers implement *sound stewardship practices* as evidenced by their longevity on the same land base and their average 35 years of experience in the business."

[13] "Striking A Balance Between Business and Nature," *Initiatives*, Summer 1994, p. 5. This article describes the role of one ranching family as follows: "Working with the land, instead of against it, has given Connie and Doc Hatfield, Rural Development Initiatives, board members, the reputation of being good stewards of their ranch 12 miles outside of Brothers, Oregon."

[14] Bob Eure, "Idaho Insurrection," *The Oregonian*, January 29, 1995. Another approach to the question of the rancher's caretaker potential role is provided in this personalized story regarding protection of spawning habitat: "Idaho rancher Eugene Edwards says if he loses his grazing rights on the Salmon National Forest, it will end up hurting chinook salmon instead of protecting them. He says it will force him and other ranchers to concentrate

grazing around sensitive salmon spawning streams on private land."

[15] E.D. Hovee & Company for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, *Columbia River Basin Community Contacts*, June 1994. "Counties dependent on natural resources for economic viability voice concern about land reform or management policy not only for effects on ranching but the environment as well. Natural resource based communities currently view themselves as taking better care of the land than the land can do for itself. They have an understanding of their resource through work and dependence which causes them to exercise respect and care. Therefore they are concerned by further and possible resource management."

[16] J.M. Fowler, D. Rush, J.M. Hawkes, and T.D. Darden, *Economic Characteristics of the Western Livestock Industry*, University of New Mexico College of Agriculture and Home Economics, Report 35, 1992, p. 3. The author of this survey of ranchers in western states notes that: "Ranching as a 'way of life' is also exhibited, with families ranching for 78 years and ranching in the same state for 68 years."

[17] Jeremy Rifkin, *Beyond Beef: The Rise and Fall of the Cattle Culture*, 1992, p. 27. The author who is a critic of the beef industry describes the historical sense of attachment to the land: "In agricultural societies, security is found in a deep sense of belonging to the land. The ground is hallowed, a sacred dwelling place protected by the gods and watched over by one's ancestors. The ground brings responsibilities. It binds each generation into a sacred web of obligations and commitments. In an agricultural society, to belong is to be attached to the land, the changing seasons, and the age-old cycle of birth, growth, death, and regeneration."

[18] E.D. Hovee & Company for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, *Columbia River Basin Community Contacts*, June 1994. " An issue of current concern is the subdivision of area ranches and subsequent diversification of the population. Newcomers to the county are more non-traditional and have less understanding of the area."

[19] Dee Brown, A.B. Guthrie, Jr., Davis Lavender, Wright Morris, Clyde Rice, Wallace Stegner, Frank Waters, *Growing Up Western: Recollections by Dee Brown...*, Edit. Clarus Backes, 1989, p. 185. This collection of essays by authors who grew up in the western U.S. contains remembrances of the writers on their experiences: "It is a not unusual life curve for Westerners -- to live in and be shaped by the bigness, space, clarity, and hopefulness of the West, to go away for study and enlargement and the perspective that distance and dissatisfaction can give, and then to return to where they belong. Later on page 192, author Dee Brown provides this additional perspective regarding the psyche of the western man, "...He was smiling as he worked. Not broadly, but perceptibly. A reflection of some inner sense of calm, undoubtedly. And his total absorption in what he was doing. You can mark that down as something any Westerner would understand: how to be alone in the whole wide world, and still be a happy man."

[20] J.M. Fowler, D. Rush, J.M. Hawkes, and T.D. Darden, *Economic Characteristics of the Western Livestock Industry*, University of New Mexico College of Agriculture and Home Economics, Report 35, 1992, p. 7. The authors comment on the extent of investment on public and private lands: "Historically, the range livestock industry has invested in developments on all lands within the ranch unit regardless of ownership. Water developments located on private and state land have serviced livestock on federal lands, and range improvement dollars on federal land have often been spread further when permittees provide the labor for the improvement. This cooperative investment has led to improved range conditions and improved distribution of livestock and wildlife."

[21] Ronald B. Querry, Edit., *Growing Old at Willie Nelson's Picnic: And Other Sketches of Life in the Southwest*, 1983, p. 100. The author recounts one cattleman having "made a little money on cattle in certain years and lost some of it back in others, having worried over an uneconomic small herd through droughts and bad winters with an intensity that would have been more wisely saved for life's main problems, having been kicked, butted, stomped, and run up corral fences countless times by Number Thirty-nine and others of like temperament, having pounded large quantities of time down a rat hole over the years in the maintenance of this grudging

place for bovine use, and having liked just about all of it at least in retrospect. I am still fond of cows and of tending them and am sometimes puzzled, along with other devotees, to find that everyone everywhere doesn't feel the same way."

[22] Jeremy Rifkin, *Beyond Beef: The Rise and Fall of the Cattle Culture*, 1992, p. 2. The author outlines some historical perspective in relation to cattle: "Cattle are the oldest form of wealth and have been used as a medium of exchange throughout much of Western culture."

[23] "Making Hay for Fish," *The Oregonian*, June 19, 1994. Bartering can involve non-traditional approaches as described by this example: "A newly formed conservation group, the Oregon Water Trust, has worked out a deal to trade 78 tons of hay to an Eastern Oregon cattle rancher for his water rights so that a declining run of steelhead will have more water."

[24] Charles McCoy, "Catron County N.M., Leads a Nasty Revolt Over Eco-Protection," *The Wall Street Journal*, Vol. CXXXII No.1, January 3, 1995, p. 1. A recent expression of resistance to perceived interference with ranching practices is provided by this story out of New Mexico: "The movement born in Catron County, NM now known officially as the county movement has tapped into a deep well of discontent in the West and other rural regions, where mainstays of rural culture like ranching, mining and logging are colliding with demographic shifts and increased environmental protection."

[25] J.M. Fowler, D. Rush, J.M. Hawkes, and T.D. Darden, *Economic Characteristics of the Western Livestock Industry*, University of New Mexico College of Agriculture and Home Economics, Report 35, 1992, pp. 16-17. This study comments on ranchers' potential reaction to loss of federal grazing rights: "The intermingled nature of ownership patterns on western ranches implies that changes impacting one type of ownership also influence other types of land ownership within the ranch. To assess the potential impact of policy and pricing changes, surveyed ranchers were asked to respond to a hypothetical situation of losing access to federal AUMs either from adverse policy or from drastic price increases. Across the West, 21% of ranchers would attempt to change to the appraisal classification of a higher and better use by converting private deeded land to real estate development. The potential for environmental disturbance will accelerate as second homes, condos and other developments encroach on adjacent riparian areas and sensitive winter wildlife habitat."

[26] E. D. Hovee & Company for the Oregon Economic Development Department, *Review of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats For Thirty Eastern Oregon Communities*, November 1990, p. 12. This report comments on the relationship of family traditions to financial practices in ranching: "Those interviewed across eastern Oregon consistently mentioned that they cannot depend upon the state capital, west side financial institutions or other non-local sources for outside assistance. They learn to bootstrap their own way. Many businesses are self financed. Homes and land transactions are often seller financed rather than through a lender."

[27] Charles McCoy, "Catron County N.M., Leads a Nasty Revolt Over Eco-Protection," *The Wall Street Journal*, Vol. CXXXII No.1, January 3, 1995, p. 1. This article provides one example of what might be considered extreme measures by a county government: "To emphasize Catron County's serious attempt to protect citizens rights, they have passed a measure requiring heads of households to own firearms. By way of warning, the county passed a resolution predicting 'much physical violence' if the government persists with its 'arrogant' grazing reform plans."

[28] E.D. Hovee & Company for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, *Columbia River Basin Community Contacts*, June 1994. This comment was made as the result of interviews conducted in 1994: "County residents are not going to be very happy with further management of natural resources. The issue is not popular. Rural communities tend to be entrenched in their lifestyle."

[29] Charles McCoy, "Catron County N.M., Leads a Nasty Revolt Over Eco-Protection," *The Wall Street Journal*, Vol. CXXXII No. 1, January 3, 1995, p. 1. This article expands on the implications of the Catron County "revolt" to other western counties: "The west has seen many anti-government movements in the past - Catron County is in the vanguard and an example being copied by other communities seeking to prohibit the federal government from enforcing a host of laws. In the past two years, more than 100 counties in Western states have passed ordinances, mimicking Catron County's, that repudiate federal control of public lands."

[30] Jeremy Rifkin, *Beyond Beef: The Rise and Fall of the Cattle Culture*, 1992, p. 257. The author comments on other characteristics related to the rancher's desire for independent action: "The American frontiersman learned to use time to the best advantage on the open plains. Opportunities need to be seized, situations quickly grasped and exploited, to survive and prosper on the prairies. The cowboy was romanticized for his individualism and his ability to fend for himself. Ranchers were praised for their wiliness and ingenuity, and above all their inventiveness."

[31] E.D. Hovee & Company for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, *Columbia River Basin Community Contacts*, June 1994. The following example illustrates the concern for an eastern Oregon county: "Oregon's Harney County relies on ranching and timber for their primary economic sustenance. The US Forest Service and BLM own 76% of the land. There is concern the "Range Land Reform" document will not only have adverse effects on ranching but the environment as well." The report also references a contact indicating: "People are frustrated by government. Locals don't know what to do about it, can't turn your back or it will happen. Ranchers and loggers feel their backs are to the wall and it's scary! They go to all these federal hearings. Can't afford not to go but on the other hand if all their time is spent in hearings their businesses suffer. Environmental regulations are coming at us from all directions and the cumulative impact is devastating to the area."

One added comment identifies concerns for local communities: "Federal regulations are extreme and difficult for remote populations and counties. These communities have less economic resources to enable compliance. There is also the need to be able to comply with regulation as it is pertinent to the individual county rather than a mandated overlay of ordinance for all counties."

[32] J.M. Fowler, D. Rush, J.M. Hawkes, and T.D. Darden, *Economic Characteristics of the Western Livestock Industry*, University of New Mexico College of Agriculture and Home Economics, Report 35, 1992, p. 9. The report notes: "Predators were cited as a problem on 64% of surveyed ranches. North Dakota, Washington and Oregon ranchers cited the least problem with 41, 48 and 49% respectively. Idaho ranchers indicated the highest number of animals lost to predation, with 56 head per year. Across the western states, average numbers lost to predation were 21 head per ranch per year, with an average value of $2,300. The relatively low value indicates that the majority of losses were sheep or lambs."

[33] E.D. Hovee & Company for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, *Existing Socioeconomic Conditions Baseline Report: Crown Jewel Project*, February 8, 1994, pp 79-80. Much of the narrative in this section is adapted from social values interviews with individuals having mining and/or ranching background.

[34] J.M. Fowler, D. Rush, J.M. Hawkes, and T.D. Darden, *Economic Characteristics of the Western Livestock Industry*, 1992, p. 4. Average age of ranchers in 14 states surveyed was 55 years. Weighted average of animal gross revenue per ranch was $62,062 (p. 6). This measure includes the financial "return to management, operator and unpaid family labor, owned capital and risk for ann enterprises including farming and fee hunting."

The authors note that: "Even in the most profitable years, such as 1991, return on total assets was approximately 4%. A more typical year yields a 1.8 to 2.0% rate of return for large ranches and yields negative returns for smaller ranches (NMSU Published Ranch Budget Series). Negative-return ranches are, in effect, existing on depreciation. Such small rates of return do not attract capital to the industry. Additionally, these low

return rates explain why few young persons are attracted to the ranching industry and to agriculture in general."

[35] Cornelia Butler Flora, Jan L. Flora, Jacqueline D. Spears, Louis E. Swanson, with Mark B. Lapping and Mark L. Weinberg, *Rural Communities: Legacy and Change*, 1992, p. 81. Under the heading, Settlement and the Independent Entrepreneur, it is noted that until the last quarter of the nineteenth century: "The United States was committed to the Jeffersonian ideal that citizens should become owners of a farm or small commercial or manufacturing enterprise. Labor, including wage labor, was valued in terms of its capacity to improve the opportunity for an individual to become economically independent. Those who worked for wages typically saved as much money as possible in order to invest in property that would allow them to become independent producers."

[36] E.D. Hovee & Company for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, *Columbia River Basin Community Contacts*, June 1994. One Columbia basin contact made the following observation: "Rural communities feel proud of their ability to earn a living and be caretakers of the land. We are holding on by our fingertips until wise management can get back in the equation of resource management. The news media has not been on our side, they report the sensationalism of the problem. We hope they sensationalize the unhappiness of the nation's taxpayers when they understand they will be funding resource management."

[37] U.S. Department of Commerce, *Census of Agriculture*, 1987 and 1992. The average size of a farm in the Pacific Northwest states of Idaho, Oregon and Washington has increased from 507 acres in 1982 to 555 acres in 1992. Between 1987 and 1992, the number of farms has declined in all size classifications except in large farms of 2,000+ acres.

[38] U.S. Department of Commerce, *Exports from Manufacturing Establishments*, 1988 and 1989. A significant and growing share of the Pacific Northwest market for agricultural products consists of exports. Pacific Northwest states are almost twice as export oriented as the rest of the nation. Close to 13% of the total shipments from Idaho, Oregon and Washington are exported, versus 6-7% nationally.

[39] Mitch Friedman, Paul Lindholdt, Edit., *Cascadia Wild: Protecting an International Ecosystem*, 1993, pp. 96-97. The authors express the view that the history of Western water law is biased toward water exploitation for economic gains and human needs, a concept which originates in English and Roman law. In the western U.S., "the modification known as appropriative rights allowed water rights to be granted on a first-in-time, first-in-right basis, regardless of water-front ownership".

[40] E.D. Hovee & Company for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, *Columbia River Basin Community Contacts*, June 1994. For example, a contact in Granite County, Montana observes: "Water rights are the life blood of the county's livelihood. You can't raise crops with decreased water rights. There would be drastic affects to county economy if the water were let downstream before the community got to use it". The report also notes that since the state of Montana has a vast amount of acreage under irrigation, an issue for the whole state of Montana is the drawdown of lakes and reservoirs.

[41] Shiels Obletz Johnsen and E.D. Hovee & Company for the Oregon Department of Agriculture, *Food Innovation Center Market Research Study (Preliminary Draft)*, September 20, 1994, III-28/29. This report prepared for the Oregon Department of Agriculture indicates that: "probably the major issues (both short and long term) for Pacific Northwest agriculture is water. Short-term concerns relate to a return of drought conditions. For example, in 1994 spring-summer runoff from snowpack in the Columbia River basin came in at just 69% of normal. Longer term, efforts to restore endangered salmon runs pose major uncertainties for availability of irrigation, river barge and hydropower -- all of which are of critical importance to farmers and processors throughout the Columbia-Snake river system. As a result, the region's traditional advantages of cheap power and abundant water which have offset relatively higher transportation costs now are being eroded."

[42] E.D. Hovee & Company for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, *Columbia River Basin Community Contacts*, June 1994. The added cost per bushel to use an alternative mode of shipping of product other than by barge is noted as a cause for concern for counties dependent on waterways for shipping.

[43] U.S. Department of Commerce, *1992 Census of Agriculture*. This most recent census of agriculture indicates that 47% of persons reporting farm income in the states of Idaho, Oregon and Washington list their principal occupations as something other than farming.

[44] U.S. Department of Commerce, *1992 Census of Agriculture*. Examples of specialty crops which have experienced sharp gains (in value of output of 25%+) for the tri-state Pacific Northwest region from 1987 to 1992 include: berries, horticultural specialties, general farms with multiple crops, animal aquaculture and animal specialties. Examples of specialty crops experiencing major gains are buckwheat, popcorn, eggplant, hot peppers, pumpkins, bulbs, mushrooms, greenhouse vegetables and herbs. The Pacific Northwest is the top U.S. producer of (among other crops) asparagus, berries, carrots, concord grapes, dry and green peas, hazelnuts, hops, lentils, onions, pears, peppermint, raspberries, seed, grass, sweet cherries and sweet corn.

[45] Shiels Obletz Johnsen and E.D. Hovee & Company for the Oregon Department of Agriculture, *Food Innovation Center Market Research Study (Preliminary Draft)*, September 20, 1994, p. III-29. Part of the impetus for organic comes from regulatory pressures and farmer concerns over fertilizer and pesticide use: "Beyond water, the issue of greatest importance relates to environmental pressure on use of fertilizers and pesticides and, for processors, wastewater disposal. Some California dairy and nursery operators have relocated to the Northwest in what has been termed a flight from overregulation. Whether this trend continues or expands to other crops depends on how this region addresses its own current and emerging regulatory issues."

[46] *Marples Business Newsletter*, January 1, 1992, p. 8. This neweletter covers business and investment activity in the Pacific Northwest. In a review of agriculture, it is noted: "Perhaps the biggest issue facing Pacific Northwest agriculture long-term is to reshape an industry today based on faceless commodities to one based on differentiated value-added products."

[47] Economic Development Services for City of Sunnyside, Washington, *Sunnyside Retail and Service Commercial Master Plan*, April 1989, p. 14. This business development report for a community in the Yakima Valley notes that: "Migrant workers are becoming an increasingly important and permanent market for Sunnyside retail and service businesses. The perceptions of Sunnyside's migrant population parallel those of other permanent residents in many respects." The report goes on to note shopping patterns and demographics including household size (above average for the area) and length of residence (87% have lived in the area for three or more years, 36% for ten years or more).

[48] Bill McKibben, *The End of Nature*, 1989, p. 51. The author observes that, from the earliest days of the pioneering west, natural resources were used as necessary without thought, but some recognized the beauty and grandeur: "...If most of the pioneers, to be sure, saw a buffalo as something to hunt, a forest as something to cut down, a flock of passenger pigeons as a call to heavy artillery (farmers would bring down their hogs to feed on the carcasses of pigeons raining down in the slaughter), there were always a good many (even, or especially, among the hunters and loggers) who recognized and described the beauty and order of this early time."

[49] William Dietrich, *The Final Forest: The Battle For The Last Great Trees of the Pacific Northwest*, 1992, p. 36. Author Dietrich observes that many loggers view trees as being a resource to harvest like any other with this anecdote from a community in western Washington: "As striking as the clearcuts is the fecundity of the land. Time and again in Forks, people will point to former burns and clearcuts now with trees that are a hundred or more feet high. 'Trees grow back,' they point out, with just a touch of exasperation. Buy a backyard here and try to have them *not* grow back."

[50] David Seideman, *Showdown at Opal Creek: The Battle for America's Last Wilderness*, 1993, p. 198. Timber workers also may value this natural resource both for their livelihood and beauty as evidenced by the following comment: "I don't think they should log by the highway. Know what I hate? You see this mountain right yonder?...You see how that's been clear-cut...That was one of the nicest stands of small timber you'd ever seen in your life. Now people will look at it because it's an eyesore. They've logged that whole hillside up there and ruint it for the people here."

[51] E.D. Hovee & Company for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, *Columbia River Basin Community Contacts*, June 1994. One interviewee commented: "There is constant battle with the Forest Service and their policies. It's a valley that lives on natural resources and when that is taken away the economy and local way of life is affected."

[52] William Dietrich, *The Final Forest: The Battle For the Last Great Trees of the Pacific Northwest*, 1992, p. 27. The identity of one western Washington logging community reportedly is strongly linked with logging, perhaps with a resulting inability to understand what is driving change in their community: "Forks' identity is so tied to harvesting the forest around it that it has gained a notoriety for resisting proposals for change. There is a big fight now over the last old trees, so nonsensical to most people in this town that they can't quite believe that scrap has gotten as far as it has. It is as if there isn't already a huge Olympic National Park a few ridges away, locking up whole valleys of trees forever."

[53] Dietrich, p. 33. Following is a description provided by the author of the autonomy experienced by a logger and the appeal of this self-reliant lifestyle: "Given such dangers, one has to wonder what draws men to this job. Poppe explains that the cutter is his own boss. There is no second-guessing, no nagging supervision. A cutter makes his own decisions at each tree, earning more if he calls it right, risking his life if he guesses wrong...All he has to answer for is how much wood he's laid down, how well, at the end of the day".

[54] Dietrich, p. 34. Also offered is an account of the pride, work ethic and skill a logger brings to this occupation: "...most prefer it because the harder and more skillfully they work, the more they get paid. There is justice in that. The idea of good pay for hard honest work is the foundation of self-esteem in Forks. It is a place where productivity is tangible...If a man doesn't work, or tries to skate by, he'll find himself by noontime walking back down the logging road, trying to hitch a ride to town."

[55] Dietrich, p. 45. A more personalized illustration follows: "Poppe considers the environmentalists a bit too self-righteous, as if they had invented love for the outdoors with their weekend hikes. Well, these loggers live in the woods and work in the woods and play in the woods. They are out in the chill rain and the hot sun. They see deer while driving to the logging job in the morning and eagles on the way home. They fish, they hunt, they hike. Theses forests are to them a mosaic of memory a city dweller can't imagine, a hundred places cut and regrown. To them, a clearcut isn't an end. It is a beginning."

[56] E.D. Hovee & Company for Cities of Okanogan and Omak, Washington, *Community Assessment: Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) for Okanogan and Omak, Washington*, June 1991, p. 17. This assessment identifies social issues reported in varying degrees in timber dependent communities on both sides of the Cascade Mountains: "Needs for social services are reported to be increasing -- dramatically in some instances. Those interviewed report needs that include: a high rate of personal bankruptcy, inadequate local mental health services (with funding primarily for acute cases), high incidence of abuse, food and emergency shelter, migrant worker health care, and transportation services for those with low incomes."

[57] Evergreen Community Development Association, E.D. Hovee & Company, Joan L. Machlis Company for the State of Washington Department of Trade and Economic Development, *Wenatchee National Forest Region Diversification Strategy*, November 8, 1990, p. 45. This report suggests that: "Two types of diversification are possible for a timber dependent region -- diversification within the industry and/or away from the industry.

Diversification within the forest products industry makes sense if it serves to reduce reliance on local supplies and create higher value-added products."

[58] E.D. Hovee & Company for City of Halfway, Oregon, *Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) Analysis for Halfway, Oregon,* April 1993, p. 22. In the Columbia Basin, opportunities for guides are numerous, encompassing a myriad of activities in addition to fishing as noted for this community, near the Hells Canyon National Recreation Area: "Much of Halfway's future potential remains linked to outdoor adventure experiences such as jet boating and river rafting on the Snake River, guided llama expeditions in the wilderness, hiking, as well as more traditional hunting and fishing activities."

[59] Joseph Cone, Solo Coho, *The New Pacific*, Issue No. 9, p. 45. In this article about the possible extinction of Pacific salmon is noted one long-term result of prolonged competition for the fisheries resource: "The harvest of salmon both by commercial and sport fishing has often exceeded the capacity of individual populations to regenerate themselves."

[60] Bob Eure, "Idaho Insurrection," *The Oregonian*, Section A, January 29, 1995. This article provides an example of perspective from the Columbia Basin region: "Jack Cook leafs through the pages of his scrapbook, recalling the high points of his personal war to save the Salmon River's runs of chinook salmon. From his 1964 letters calling for an end to commercial salmon fishing on the Columbia River, to the 1976 "fish-in" he organized to protest the end of sport fishing the Salmon River, Cook can prove his love for the fish that once filled the rivers and streams near this isolated Central Oregon town. But few listened as Cook, 75, argued that it was the dams and downstream commercial fishing that were killing the fish".

[61] E.D. Hovee & Company for the Oregon Economic Development Department, *Economic Impacts of Commercial and Recreational Ocean Salmon Fishery Curtailments on the Oregon Coast,* December 1992, Executive Summary. This analysis prepared for the Oregon Economic Development Department observes that: "Commercial and, to a lesser extent, charter boat operators have reportedly experienced some of the greatest economic hardships due to salmon curtailments. Diversification by boat operators to other fishing and non-fishing activities has not kept pace with loss of salmon-related business."

[62] E.D. Hovee & Company for the City of Garibaldi, Oregon, *Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) Analysis for Garibaldi, Oregon,* December 1992, p. 12. This report prepared for Rural Development Initiatives, Inc. (RDI) notes the effect of salmon season curtailments for commercial fishers: "Those who relied on commercial salmon fishing have been forced to either diversify, fish in other areas without restrictions or, in some cases, have essentially abandoned their boats. In fact, in the last couple of years, a number of wooden boats have sunk and/or been burned because they were abandoned and had no appreciable market value."

[63] *Money,* September 1994, Vol. 23, No. 9, p. 126. MONEY magazine annually rates the nation's most desirable places to live: "This year, in MONEY'S eighth annual ranking of the livability in the 300 largest U.S. metropolitan areas ... the action is rolling into semi-rural towns that were dismissed as the boondocks as recently as five years ago."

[64] David Hensley, *California Business Journal,* Vol. 26, No. 6, June 1990, p. 17. A discussion of population movement within the state of California notes the cause as strained quality of life. California is noted as experiencing a pronounced shift to areas in the state that are less expensive and less congested. As these areas in turn become congested and lacking in quality of life and affordability, the next stage in this process is relocation outside of the state.

[65] Thomas Michael Power, *The Economic Pursuit of Quality,* 1988, p. 97. In a discussion on the local residents enjoying their natural environment, the author has this to say: "First, it is the local population, not the tourists, that makes the heaviest use of the surrounding natural environment... There is absolutely no reason to ignore

the value the local population obtains from these areas. This is especially true given the likelihood that the local population moved there, or resists moving away, because it places a high value on what is unique to that area..."

[66] E.D. Hovee & Company for Oregon Economic Development Department. *Review of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats for Thirty Eastern Oregon Communities*, November 1990. This report summarizes the nature of intra community conflict that can characterize any rural community, but especially communities experiencing change: "In some communities, access to political influence is directly related to how many generations a family has been in town. Newcomers report finding it difficult to become part of the decision-making process. This is summed up on the SWOT for one community as follows: 'The younger generation of professional workers in ... feel they are excluded from the decision-making process. They are rarely asked to participate and feel the leaders are not allowing new voices and issues to be heard.' "

It can be very difficult to resolve conflicts within a small community. People do not want to offend their neighbors. It is easier to get along, so serious issues get pushed aside or deferred, or talked about over coffee but with no resolution.

Issues within SWOT communities of eastern Oregon are not that different from other rural communities across the United States. They involve questions such as: Is change accepted or resisted? Are newcomers welcome and made a part of the community? Is the community committed to diversify; if so, how? Do new industries such as tourism and more diversified manufacturing pose threats to the economic mainstays of agriculture and timber?"

[67] E.D. Hovee & Company for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, *Existing Socioeconomic Conditions Baseline Report: Crown Jewel Project*, February 8, 1994, p. 83.

[68] Bennett M. Berger, *The Survival of a Counterculture: Ideological Work and Everyday Life Among Rural Communards*, 1981, p. 98. "The pastoral myth -- the vision of simple and self sufficient rural life in harmony with nature -- connects the rural communards of the counterculture with the suburbanites of the 50s and with the more distant American past."

[69] Bennett M. Berger, *The Survival of a Counterculture: Ideological Work and Everyday Life Among Rural Communards*, 1981, pp. 91-92. The author offers one explanation of environmental roots of the so-called counterculture movement: "Pastoral or 'nature' have been prominent in the armory of counterculture ideas from the beginning, whether as a passionate interest in ecology, the purity of one's diet or the quality of one's health or in the simple conviction that the more natural one's way of life (the closer to nature it was) the more wholesome it was likely to be -- an idea, of course, with deep roots in romanticism and in the anti-urban animus it bred."

On page 93 the author continues: "American culture can be understood as a plurality of competing traditions, and even as the countryside was being emptied out and the cities filling up, pastoralism has been a perennial part of the plurality."

[70] Peter F. Dobert & Associates, *Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats, Fossil, Wheeler County*, July 1990. The author comments on the following quality of life attributes for a lightly populated county in eastern Oregon: "The quality of life in Fossil is the first benefit mentioned by all who participated in the interview process. Comments included: Great people, no crime, clean air, affordable living, secure environment and peaceful living."

[71] E.D. Hovee & Company for the Washington Department of Community Development and Okanogan County Economic Development Council, *Economic Diversification Strategy for Okanogan County*, 1992, p. 48. The report notes that: "There is documented evidence of out-migration from Seattle to counties offering more affordable land and acreage for new residents on fixed incomes."

[72] Bennett M. Berger, *The Survival of a Counterculture: Ideological work and everyday life among rural communards*, p. 108. The author comments on the values of rural self-sufficiency: "...communards take great pride in such survival skills as they have been able to develop. Like the suburbanite twenty-five years ago, freshly installed in a new tract house, the communards are very much into doing it themselves, proud of every step in their progress toward self-sufficiency. That these skills may be primitive by expert or sophisticated standards is less important analytically than that they do in fact support and ennoble the communal enterprise by providing much of the grounding that enables them to sustain the ideological vision of what they are about: the creation of community, the resistance to alienated work, the revolution by example."

[73] Lester W. Milbrath, *Envisioning A Sustainable Society*, 1989, p. 190. The author gives the following story as an example of one farmer (outside the Columbia Basin) who has embarked on a simpler way to farm: "The February 1986 issue of Mother Earth News headlined a story about a farmer in southern Minnesota who had lost his farm to the bank because he could not meet payments on his loan; he was left with only five acres. He decided to farm those five acres intensively, but organically, concentrating on producing a variety of fresh vegetables. He used only small and appropriate technology to lower capital and operating costs...This 'small is beautiful' success story illustrates how we could wean ourselves from our dependence on fossil energy while still maintaining an agriculture that would be highly productive of nutritious food."

[74] *The New Age Community Guidebook Alternative Choices in Lifestyles: Community Articles*, April 1989, p. 18. This description is offered for a settlement in western Oregon: "The issues we face as a community are complicated mixtures of business, community and personality. Presently, Breitenbush is a worker-owned and operated business. In addition, we work to preserve the beautiful Old Growth Cathedral Forest which lies around our land. Much of this virgin forest is scheduled for logging. We have been working with conservationists and friends, particularly the Oregon Natural Resources Council, in the forest-planning process of our Willamette National Forest. Our community is united by our love of these lands and waters and our commitment to service".

[75] Lester W. Milbrath, *Envisioning A Sustainable Society*, 1989, p. 120. The author provides an explanation of differing views on the value of nature: "Everyone values nature, of course, but some people mainly desire to exploit it for goods and services that can be consumed while others lovingly desire to preserve nature. Our study showed most environmentalists value it for its own sake; many of them have an almost worshipful love for it."

[76] "Colville Tribes Blitzed by Mining Companies," *Buckhorn Bulletin*, Newsletter of The Okanogan Highlands Alliance, No. 10, June 1994. The following response was reported after meetings to open the Colville Indian Reservation to mine exploration: "'If allowed, mining will not only contaminate our waters, but it will also de-strip our lands, our root digging and berry picking areas, and our wildlife. In addition,'many tribal members had a different perspective, voicing the notion that large scale mining can be dangerous, dirty, and low-down in terms of environmental impacts. They cautioned against 'seeing dollar signs' and spoke strongly in favor of traditional tribal values with respect to land use."

[77] Thomas Michael Power, *The Pursuit of Quality*, 1988, p. 173. This book provides a rationale for placing more emphasis on barter and other activities that are not easily accounted for by traditional economic measures: "...The emphasis here is intended to correct a tendency to ignore the economic importance of qualities that flow from non-commercial sources. Local economic policy may find that it has little control or influence over the character of the commercial sector. That would not mean that it can do little to protect and enhance the range of qualities available to residents."

[78] Joan Laatz, "Soul Survival: The Northwest is running out of time to prevent extinction of the region's heart and soul," *The Oregonian*, Section E, January 29, 1995. The non-economic values of the salmon resource are embedded in this story: "Ed Edmo born at Celilo Falls to one of the Indian families dispossessed when the

Dalles Dam flooded it in 1957. 'Man will die of a great loneliness' if the salmon die, Edmo says. 'Every so many minutes so many species -- is it six? -- die'. Edmo says. With the salmon gone, a 'way of life' dies too, he says. Without salmon, he says, his children have no chance to follow the traditional way of life. As for the impact of the loss of salmon on the Northwest's image, Edmo says, 'Image has nothing to do with it. It's our way of life'."

[79] Michael J. Weiss, *The Clustering of America*, 1988, p. 259. The author comments on the gathering demographic and economic momentum for a shift back to rural America: "...The 1990 census may reveal a new exurban cluster, reflecting the continued dispersal of the population from cities that began after World War II. At least 3.5 million people moved into non-metropolitan counties in the '70's, a sharp increase from the 2.8 million who left such areas in the previous decade. Technological advances in computers and telecommunications will facilitate the migration of workers away from central corporate offices...by 1990, these middle-class singles and couples may form a new cluster..."

[80] M. Ross Boyle, *The Economic & Demographic Trends Newsletter*, Volume 6. No. 5, June 1994, p. 6. This newsletter provides statistical evidence of rural areas receiving recent job growth in excess of that experience in metropolitan areas: "In fact, rural areas generated 60 percent of the nation's job growth over these two years, even though rural America is home to less than 18 percent of all Americans." On page 20, Boyle goes on to observe that an important debate over the source of new job creation is whether it occurs from expansion or attraction. Respondents to a survey conducted by Boyle reported disagreement with the accepted wisdom that more new jobs are a result of expansion: "The nation's most rural counties get more of their job growth from new ventures, not because they are more entrepreneurial but because other sources are less available to them."

[81] E.D. Hovee & Company for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, *Columbia River Basin Community Contacts*, June 1994. This example is provided by an interview in Montana: "Deer Lodge County in Montana reports in-migration from the cities to rural communities. Many migrants perceive lower cost of living, which is not necessarily true. People are also willing to commute long distances."

[82] James C. Hutchins for U.S.D.A. Forest Service, *Social Values and Lifestyle in Okanogan County, Washington: A Social Network Analysis*, 1981. This earlier evaluation of social values (prior to the Crown Jewel project proposal) identified six reference groups in Okanogan County, Washington outside the Methow Valley basin: (a) new pioneers/primary resource-based; (b) newcomers/mixed -- resource based entrepreneurs; (c) newcomers/professionals; (d) hill farmers-- mixed newcomers/old timers/pioneers -- primary resource based; (e) mixed old timers/pioneers resource based entrepreneurs; and (f) Native Americans/primary resource based.

The 'urban refugee' category used for this updated analysis comprises elements of categories (a), (b) and (d) of Hutchins earlier 1981 analysis.

[83] Marilyn Ross, Rom Ross, *Country Bound: Trade Your Business Suit Blues for Blue Jean Dream*, 1992, p. 181. "It was once unusual for people over 50 to launch a new business. Today this daring mid-life venture is played out in every state of the union. The Roper Organization forecasts the next major wave of entrepreneurs will include an unusually high proportion of older Americans. Close to 20% of start-ups are begun by men and women age 50 or over. Folks in their 60s and 70s are retiring from one career, then starting in an entirely new field -- finally doing what they've dreamed of all their lives."

[84] E.D. Hovee & Company for the Washington Department of Community Development and Okanogan County Economic Development Council, *Economic Diversification Strategy for Okanogan County*, 1992, p. 48. The report notes: " Retirees represent a growing segment of the population that are leaving metropolitan areas for a slower and relaxed pace of life."

[85] E.D. Hovee & Company for the Oregon Economic Development Department, *Review of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats For Thirty Eastern Oregon Communities*, November 1990, p.11. This review

contains the observation that: "There is some anecdotal evidence that those who move to eastern Oregon tend to be somewhat younger (55+) with more disposable income and often more active in business and hobby interests."

[86] E.D. Hovee & Company for the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, *Columbia River Basin Community Contacts,* June 1994. Another anecdotal example: "In Jefferson County, Oregon a concern and issue currently experienced is providing for a growing retirement population."

[87] Charles McCoy, "Rafts of Ire, US Forest Service Finds Itself Bedeviled By Hells Canyon Plan," *Wall Street Journal,* Vol. CXXXI No.34, August 18, 1994. This article describes the type of conflict that can emerge between those who want to enjoy the outdoors in different ways: " 'Ahhh, bull----!' bellows a man wearing a red shirt. 'Get the hell out of Idaho!' adds Claire Drexler, a retiree from Twin Falls. The two are among a group just returned from a thundering run upriver on one of a fleet of jet boats that race daily through the canyon. Between floaters and boaters here, hell pretty much describes the relationship. In fact, it is turning out to be a long, hot summer in Hells Canyon on a lot of fronts. Here, against a spectacular scenic backdrop, the full panoply of the West's increasingly better land-use conflicts is being fought out -- fights over grazing and logging; over roads and dirt bikes; over disappearing salmon and wild trout. And like the feud between river rafters and power-boaters, these feuds are becoming increasingly nasty -- there have been shouting matches, death threats and even occasional gunplay." The author goes on to observe: "...Hells Canyon National Recreation Area, is wrestling with final details of a plan it says will better balance rival uses of the place over the next decade. For the Forest Service, the plan is an early test case for the new, greener ethic that Jack Ward Thomas, the reform-minded biologist named to head the agency last year, wants to instill. Echoing decades of environmentalist's complaints, Mr. Thomas says that the service for too long has tilted toward the interests of timber companies and ranchers, neglecting ecosystems and wildlife on much of its 232 mullion acres of federal land. There is also a personal push for Hells Canyon: Mr. Thomas spent 20 years working out of a nearby Forest Service Office, and has hiked and hunted it many times. 'It's a magnificent place,' he says. 'There's no question we have an obligation to assure that its essential character is protected'."

[88] Much of the material for this review is drawn from two Urban Land Institute (ULI) working papers, both written by authors J. Thomas Black, D. Scott Middleton and Poten Lin: *An Overview of Recent Travel and Tourism Demands in the United States,* May 1992; and *An Overview of Factors Likely to Affect Travel and Tourism Demand in the United States in the Next Ten Years,* May 1992.

[89] Each state may take a somewhat different approach to defining its tourism market and marketing strategy. However, common interests are apparent, for example, in comparing Washington and Oregon.

Research conducted for the state of Washington Department of Trade and Economic Development indicates that 33% of in-state travel consists of *sophisticated adventure* and *upscale comfort seekers,* while 37% represents the average *middle America* segment seeking lots to do, first class treatment and good deals. The proportion of out-of-state visitors who are *sophisticated adventure* and *upscale comfort seekers* is much higher at 43%, except for Canadians where 49% fit the *mid America* profile. Source is The Gilmore Research Group, *Washington State Tourism: Our Consumer Profile,* prepared for the State of Washington Department of Trade and Economic Development Tourism Development division, December 1990.

Oregon is also moving to take advantage of emerging market trends. As noted by *Oregon Travel News,* published by the Oregon Economic Development Department, Tourism Division, May 1993. "Consumers tend to prefer vacations that are either action packed or are in an area with an abundance of natural beauty. With the Oregon Trail Celebration '93, Oregon is capitalizing on this trend by stressing our heritage, natural beauty, concern for the environment, and friendly people."

[90] E.D. Hovee & Company for Oregon Economic Development Department. *Review of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats for Thirty Eastern Oregon Communities*, November 1990, p. 29. The specific tourism niches available to an individual community or regional may vary somewhat from this typology. For example, in eastern Oregon: "One approach need not be pursued to the total exclusion of the other. However, greater focus is suggested. Target markets and strategies to consider might include:

- Full-service, guided hunting and fishing experiences -- initiating the urban novice.
- Family-oriented educational, recreational and vacation packages -- catering to *baby boomers* and their children.
- Ecotravel packages -- for the rapidly growing number of relatively affluent travelers seeking to experience the unique geology, wildlife and botanical habitats of eastern Oregon.
- Retirees -- especially during the spring and fall shoulder seasons."

[91] Urban Land Institute (ULI) Research Working Paper Series, Paper 018, *An Overview of Recent Travel and Tourism Demand in the United States*, May 1992, pp. 2-3. ULI notes that "the baby boom is the most socially and economically powerful generation in the U.S. and will remain so in the next decade." Approximately 46% of adults in the U.S. were born in the baby boom years of 1946 to 1964. As this generation matures, they will move into the peak earning periods of their lives and control a growing proportion of the total income of the nation.

Aging baby boomers are also becoming increasingly family-oriented -- affecting the marketing of leisure opportunities ranging from ski resorts to weekend getaways. Researchers at the Urban Land Institute comments that "American culture has shifted from a youth or teenage-orientation to a culture with a more mature perspective."

[92] Chris Baum, "Forecast '93, Patience: Industry Growth to Pick Up Slowly," *Hotels*, January 1993. This author observes simply that on a national level: "Family leisure is seen as turning to trips shorter and closer to home, but more frequent."

[93] For example, a November 20, 1992 article in the *Wall Street Journal* is headlined "U.S. Ski Resorts Stress Family Values." The article notes that "as yesterday's jet-setting baby boomers are getting married and raising children, family-friendly marketing has steadily grown." The article also cites a Denver marketing firm with ski area clients, who states: "Your hot-dog skier of 20 years ago is now craving white wine and chateaubriand and has two kids he's introducing to skiing. The resorts are trying to hang onto that skier longer."

[94] Urban Land Institute (ULI) Research Working Paper Series, Paper 018, *An Overview of Recent Travel and Tourism Demand in the United States*, May 1992, p. 6. ULI researchers note that persons age 65 and over have a "higher amount of per-capita discretionary income than any other age group."

[95] E.D. Hovee & Company, *Review of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats For Thirty Eastern Oregon Communities*, November 1990, p. 11. The draw of one portion of the Columbia Basin for some active sports persons is described as follows: "The mountains, rivers and wide open spaces of eastern Oregon are well known for hunting and fishing throughout the Pacific Northwest and beyond. Eastern Oregon tends to attract the avid sportsperson looking for a more authentic experience amid rugged, isolated surroundings."

[96] J. Thomas Black, D. Scott Middleton and Poten Lin, *Linkages Between Travel and Tourism, Land Use and Real Estate Development*, ULI Research Working Paper Series, Paper 619, October 1993, p. 7. The authors identify "rising environmental awareness" as one of three trends that are closely tied to travel and tourism demand: "Environmental protection has become a foremost concern of many people over the past few decades. Today, tourists, real estate developers, planning officials, and even local residents of tourist destinations are all involved in the process of promoting environmental awareness. Travelers want to enjoy both pristine natural

resources and man-made recreational amenities which are sensitive to the environment. People want to live in a place that can provide them with a better quality of life. Developers use the value of natural resources and recreational amenities as a marketing tool. Environmental awareness has great implications for travel and tourism, and influences development opportunities in the real estate community."

"Travel and tourism and recreational activities are integrally connected by both natural and man-made environments. National parks and forests attract visitors who enjoy natural scenery. Resorts and vacation homes near lakefronts, mountains, forests, and beaches are very popular. Without adequate controls, however, recreational development can lead to deterioration of an area's recreational value."

[97] J. Thomas Black, D. Scott Middleton and Poten Lin, *An Overview of Recent Travel and Tourism Demand in the United States*, ULI Research Working Paper Series, Paper 018, May 1992, p. 7. The authors discuss the rise of "global lifestyles" which lead to "adventure travel and experience vacations." Of specific interest to the Columbia Basin region is the observation: "Rural and remote areas are becoming popular travel destinations. Travelers seek new experience in unconventional places. The demand for adventure and new experiences in vacation travel should hold great potential for the travel and tourism industry in the future."

[98] Michael S. Rubin & Robert Forman, "Reinventing Leisure," *Urban Land*, February 1993, p. 32. The authors note a couple of additional emerging trends related to ecotourism. One is the concept of base camping: "With the growing interest in ecotourism, the idea of base camping -- using a well-situated resort as the base for nature- or culture-exploring excursions -- is a natural." A second idea is related to "eco hot spots": "The concept of pressuring/creating ecological hot spots -- whole islands, literally and figuratively, of natural areas -- has been advanced by botanists, biologists, and environmental scientists as a tool for maintaining biodiversity."

[99] John Kyle, Architects, E.D. Hovee & Company, Barney & Worth, Walker & Macy Landscape Architects & Planners and Joan Biggs, Public Relations for Skamania County, *Columbia Gorge Conference Center, Skamania County, Washington*, Step II proposal for a meeting center in the Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area, June 1990, p. 7. Studies of visitor and recreation use were conducted to determine demand and market share for the proposed meeting center in the Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area. Developed as a partnership involving a private developer, county government and the U.S.D.A. Forest Service, Skamania Lodge was predicated on tapping the growing potential of the ecotourism market in the Pacific Northwest: "Interest in scenic and natural locales is growing...Most Western U.S. National Parks are running at or near their peak limits."

Another comment from the 1990 development proposal: "The emerging ecotravel market offers considerable potential, since these visitors seek an experience based on proximity to the natural attractions, hiking, geologic, botanical, wildlife and historic features of the Gorge."

PEER REVIEW COMMENTS

AND

RESPONSE TO PEER REVIEW COMMENTS

September 10, 1995

To: Jim Burchfield

From: Victoria Sturtevant

Re: Hovee Community of Interest Piece

This Review Draft was dated February 10, 1995. I received it the last week of March and sent it out to review in early April. It was sent to eight reviewers, some university professors, some practitioners. Although I hounded these folks mercilessly, only one responded. I'm not sure why, although I think it may be partly the hybrid and wide-ranging nature of the piece (although I asked reviewers to consider only portions in areas of their own expertise). Accordingly, the following review is based only on one review and my own reading, as well as some informal remarks from others.

While the draft reads well and many of its conclusions are accurate, the endnotes undermine the credibility of the findings. As researchers we expect to see the data from which findings are reported. In this report there is scant reference to interviews with contacts (representatives of organizations of the fifteen counties, as mentioned on page 1). Additionally, the annotated list of references[1] does not include much of the empirical academic research conducted in the past decades, but instead relies on more popular "educated lay" presses, SWOT analyses and similar reports. Some academic research cited, e.g., Berger's *The Survival of a Counterculture*, is from a different region and era. The ninety-nine notes cite about half as many sources; books such as Dietrich's and Rifkin's are used repeatedly. Not that the number of sources is any measure of quality of the content of the report--and the documentation within the many SWOT and stakeholder contacts may expand the foundation on which this report's conclusions are written--but reading the endnotes does not give one confidence in the conclusions of the paper.

Moving from the endnotes, I will try and organize this review according to topic:

Social Values: The "snap-shot in time" approach of the bulleted characteristics is frustrating to a reader who would also want some analytical understanding of these descriptions. (Why are these values prevalent? How have they changed over time? What are the underlying structural conditions?) A stakeholder would most likely feel that many qualifications and exceptions are required. ("He's not talking about me or my affiliates.") By reifying the values, the author masks the dynamic tensions and contradictions between them and even implies that some are better than others. An example is in the Forestry Workers section where Hovee states "values of loggers could be placed midway between the ranchers and miners ...." Midway on what kind of axis? Are there some points of comparison here? If so, they should be clarified. In the section on ranchers, "Many of the values and lifestyles held by ranchers during the homesteading days are still valid today." Valid according to whom? What standard? While

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[1]Titled "Endnotes," although I assume that they are also the references.

the reader could dismiss this as simply an error in choice of wording (perhaps "valid" could be replaced by "true" or "prevalent"), the overall normative and journalistic tone of the piece does make one feel that qualitative judgments are being made by the author.[2]

Miners and Ranchers. In general, I believe the statements to be valid, although this is not an area of expertise. The press in Southern Oregon speaks of illegal mining claims and conflicts between the noise created by dredging and recreationalists. Perhaps these are not issues for the Eastside, but they certainly are related to conflicting values and changing land-use policies. Is there no social science literature on mining relevant to this work? Are workers unionized at all or independent?

It would be interesting to know what proportion of ranchers are "gentlemen ranchers" and newcomers to the area. Are sheep and cattle interests the same? I would have expected to see more discussion of grazing issues and the kind of threats ranchers perceive as coming from restrictions on public lands. One can see glimpses of warnings of the current home rule "uprisings" in the section on ranchers, but the issues federal agencies are facing with these stakeholders need a thorough discussion. How have political-economic changes in society affected the values of miners and ranchers?

Farmers. Again, what proportion are "newcomers" and "gentlemen"? How has corporate farming changed the viability of farming? I have read a bit about Idaho contract farmers for transnational potato processors and they seem very different from dryland field crop farmers, who in turn are different from orchard farmers. Aren't migrants worth more than a mention? How have the social dynamics between the anglo and latino communities in these farming regions (particularly orchard and vegetable crop growing) affected values of stakeholders? Have farmers who can rely upon migrants moved to a more elite class and begun to display different values?

Forestry Workers. This is more in my area of expertise. There is significant work other than Dietrich to inform this section. Matt Carroll and his students have found that logging communities have some stability in that wives and children stay home while loggers travel to jobs. Retraining and relocation seem to deserve a bit more discussion. Who retrains? To do what? What percentage relocate? Who is unwilling to relocate (research says its loggers, not millworkers)? Who returns? How do values change with these moves? Who is gathering special forest products (research I've seen says it's not white males)? What about employment in restoration and reforestation?

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[2]A reviewer of the piece wrote this: "... there is a distinct separation between the values of substantial property or business-owning white men and wage-labor white men. White men miners, loggers and [poor and blue-collar as he defines them] "urban refugees" share one set of values more closely (the wrong set); and white men farmers, ranchers (includes some white women), quality-of-life educated migrants share another.

There is much research on the difference between loggers and millworkers, yet they are treated as being the same in this piece. Mill workers, like miners, are industrial workers and many are unionized. Loggers are often independent contract workers, with fewer benefits (health insurance, etc.) and more likely to stress the importance of independence and self-reliance.

Where is the evidence for family comes first and involvement in community affairs is low? What is the interplay between forestry workers commitment to occupational group, family and community? Can generalizations and comparisons be made? The paper refers to "conflicts between large corporate entities versus small independent operators," but does not point out how this is related to the social problems and stresses in timber communities. How do these dynamics affect values and commitment to occupation, family, community and the environment.

Fishers. Not within the area of knowledge of reviewers. SWOTs are a primary resource cite. How about other research or contacts within fishing industry?

Quality of Life Migrants. This section does attempt to avoid overgeneralization by separating out various sub-groups, but still more distinctions must be made. In Southern Oregon and Northern California there are significant differences among "educated wilderness migrants." For twenty years "back-to-landers" have been moving into rural areas, often fitting in more harmoniously with local values and economies than more recent "equity migrants" who bring more capital, but also greater demands for services and planning.

While Hovee is correct in distinguishing between quality of life migrants who are attracted to an area and those who flee from an urban area, there is much overlap and blurring between the two groups. There is even research that claims that migrants give "voice" to local oldtimers' unexpressed environmental sentiments, further confounding these distinctions. (Of course, this is not to dismiss the very real conflicts over public land management in communities in Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana which can be attributed in some part to differing values of newcomers and oldtimers.) Often urban refugees are also educated wilderness migrants and a large number are not low income and poverty families, but instead people who have the means to flee urban problems and make a living via fax, airplane and catalog (or gentleman farming, ranching, etc.).

To further complicate matters, there are people drawn to rural communities by economic opportunity (e.g., forest workers, many of them minorities working in tree planting or plant gathering) and those taking advantage of the lower housing prices of depressed timber communities. They may be changing the complexion of rural communities in a manner that makes them less appealing to some groups who had typically fled from urban areas to these once white, homogeneous communities.

The retiree section seems fine, with a couple of exceptions. "Willingness to pay for services ..." does not always extend to social services such as schools and ability to pay for services often puts a premium on some which become unavailable or too expensive for others. The class and status differences between retiree refugees and adopted community members is a source of

strain in much of the West. My guess is that Hovee's sources of information (those commonly involved in SWOTs -- civic leaders and local businessmen) would provide a different slant on (and benefit from) the situation than those feeling dislocated by retirees.

Visitors. Interesting to see that visitors' values were mostly keyed to the formal economy. To quote a reviewer: "Hovee refers to 'the market' in discussing tourism/recreation, and it is this market orientation which frames the section -- confirmed by checking the cites." Locals are also visitors to the area, although not bringing in the same market benefits, and sometimes locals' informal economic use of the forests conflicts with tourism.

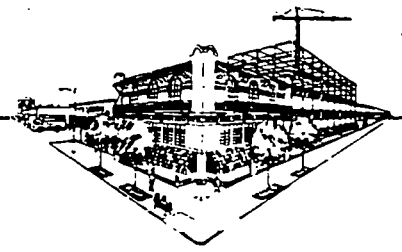
The implication of this section seems to be that visitors are good for communities in the Basin, yet we could learn much from research in other areas which have turned to tourism as a means of transition from resource extraction. A summary of SWOTs in the state of Oregon suggests that tourism is not a panacea. There are economic costs, not the least of which is low salaries for service workers. Tourists put a strain on already limited services, e.g., hospitals and safety patrols, and other infrastructure development may be necessary to spiff up mainstreet. Economics aside (and not really the central topic of this paper), tourists' values and land use policy preferences often conflict with those of traditional local resource workers.

Note on occupational identity. This is a tough one. How many of values listed here are distilled from discussions with miners as miners; with loggers as loggers. A reviewer of this piece has done a number of interviews of loggers and their families and finds that often loggers (and even more often their wives and children) don't hold the values stereotypically ascribed to them. Yet they recognize the occupational identity they are supposed to have and often display those values while at work. Those outside the logging community, but who work with loggers (e.g., local businessmen) may often be the source of information about loggers in SWOTs, etc. The contradictions between loggers' values are even evident in two consecutive endnotes (#'s 49-50), where Dietrich quotes one as supporting clearcutting and Seideman quoting one as condemning clearcutting. This complexity is not at all evident in the list of values for this section and I imagine this is also true for fishers, miners, ranchers etc.

Final comments. This is not a kind review. It is much easier to write a harsh critic than produce an excellent piece of research. I recognize that this is not intended to be a full-scale study of all the complexities and subtleties of differences in values of stakeholders. However, I have to conclude that this piece simplifies the issues and does little to convey the dynamic, complex nature of communities of interest and their values. The literature cited is superficial and there is no way to determine ~~whether~~ the composition or representation of the list of contacts interviewed. The work does list some of the major (stereotypical) values of mainstream (mostly white male) interest groups, ~~and~~ perhaps that was its charge.

E. D. Hovee
& Company

Economic and Development Services



MEMORANDUM

To: Jim Burchfield, USDA Forest Service
Eastside Ecosystem Management Project

From: Eric Hovee

Subject: Peer Review -- Communities of Interest Review Draft

Date: October 11, 1995

OCT 13 1995
RECEIVED

I have had an opportunity to read through the comments from the peer review of our *Communities of Interest & Their Social Values* review draft report of February 10, 1995. Before proceeding with redrafting to provide a final document, I thought it would be important to first provide some feedback from our perspective as a basis for further discussion and direction.

This memorandum is organized to cover the following topics:

Overview Comments
Communities of Interest
Options for Proceeding
Budget & Schedule Considerations
Summary & Next Steps

Overview Comments

I would agree that the reviewer raises some serious (and important) criticisms. However, a number of the major questions and comments of the reviewer can be answered only in the context of reviewing the purpose and role of the report.

Our understanding of the document's purpose and our role in preparing it may help to address why this document does not fully satisfy the reviewer's objectives:

- Our background research on which much of this document is based was accomplished (by contractual agreement) in an extremely short period of time. Based on a purchase order dated June 15, 1994, we conducted our research and delivered the results two weeks later on June 29, 1994. Results consisted of a preliminary literature review (provided as an annotated list of references) and community contact data forms (from selected contacts in 15 case study counties). The time constraints and limitations together with potential need for more extended data or contact/interview work were

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noted in our report of June 29. However, expanding the research effort to include more extensive data or contact work has not been within our scope of work to date.

- As Jon Bumstead and I discussed at the outset of the project, our background is somewhat different from that of other researchers working with the Social Assessment Team. Our background and expertise is more that of *hands-on* practitioners in economic and community development rather than as social scientists or academician. At the April Social Symposium in Spokane, I realized that we appeared to be the only members of the Social Assessment Team not affiliated with a university. While we welcome comments and suggestions from peer review, it is important to note that our report was not necessarily written to the standards that might be expected of a university-based review process.
- In the two week period when the literature search was conducted, we were unable to uncover much in the way of empirical academic research. Literature searches were conducted primarily through the Washington State Library and Evergreen College Library systems in Olympia. While inquiries were made, it proved to be difficult to access any significant volume of unpublished academic information. for example doctoral dissertations, through either library system at that time. I also note that we did some additional academic contacts at the time -- particularly for logging and ranching -- and those contacted indicated they knew of relatively little pertinent academic research. It would certainly be possible (and perhaps quite useful) to make a more significant effort to identify pertinent academic research, including research for state/federal agencies. However, this would likely require additional time/budget beyond what has been assumed by the current contract.
- We did rely on information from interviews with contacts, although this is not reflected in the endnotes. We have been concerned with attributing remarks to specific individuals, as noted with the *Community Contact Data Forms* submitted June 29, 1994. However, we can describe this research effort in more detail as part of a revised introduction to the report and with added endnotes, as appropriate.
- Some of the endnotes directly support a particular point or observation in the main report; others provide a more indirect reference. Some observations are directly end noted; others are not as we did not necessarily expect to fully document all observations. We can, however, place greater priority on further direct documentation of all narrative, if desired.
- Another possible concern may be the informal or colloquial style of writing. In many instances, we have intentionally reported in the vernacular of at least some representatives of a particular community of interest. It would be possible to tighten or formalize the writing style, but this could be at the expense of better understanding the experience of a community of interest -- in their own terms.
- As noted in the introduction, the "research report is intentionally concise." Some generalizations are undoubtedly involved -- we understood this to be a purpose of the report. Consequently, it is true that the discussion may not convey as much detail as might be desired covering the diversity of opinions, lifestyles, values, etc. for each community of interest. However, we did provide overview comments on the diversity and changes in values for all of the communities of interest. The question probably is

one of how much further to go -- whether in terms of length of document or supportability of conclusions from empirical research available to us.

- The reviewer also notes that the document does not provide detailed analysis of questions such as: why are values prevalent; what are underlying structural conditions? Addressing these questions was beyond our understanding of the scope of research which we have viewed more as reporting what we or others have observed rather than detailed analysis. As noted above, we did, however, provide brief descriptions of how values have changed over time -- as information was available.
- I would agree that the question of "occupational identity" (on page 4 of the review) is a "tough one." Certainly the information we have relies both on a community of interest's view of themselves (e.g. "miners as miners"), as well as other's views on a particular community. Our approach reflected reporting on assumed values from both perspectives. Either approach can result in some stereotyping. Often it can be difficult to distinguish between perception and reality -- since each influences the other. Perceptions as well as reality are therefore important to note. The report does attempt to briefly provide an overview of divergent and changing values/viewpoints within each community of interest. We can attempt to elaborate further on these -- to the extent that pertinent empirical information is available.
- I would agree with a portion of the final comment that the research "simplifies the issues;" again, our understanding was that it is important to reflect generalized and perhaps prevailing (or "mainstream") viewpoints. I do not agree with the comment that the literature reviewed is "superficial;" the implication that academic research inherently takes precedence over more popular "educated lay" reflects one but not all possible approaches to researching social values.

- Admittedly, the approach we have taken means that observations or conclusions cannot be as easily substantiated. Alternative points of view are always possible for any community of interest. Our work should not be expected to provide a quantitative basis around which observations or conclusions can be deemed as statistically significant. However, a lay or experiential perspective can be important to inform the assessment process and reflects an approach that we can realistically offer for the Social Assessment Team.

Communities of Interest

Here are some thoughts regarding the review's comments specific to individual communities of interest:

Miners & Ranchers:

- We could better address changing trends regarding mining unionization and relationship to social characteristics of miners (as part of a redraft).
- I am unaware of specific quantitative research regarding "gentlemen ranchers." Also noted is that our research was intentionally non-quantitative.
- I would agree with the comment that a better term for ranchers' values, rather than being "still valid," would be a term such as "prevalent."

- The intent of this and other sections has been to identify underlying values that may affect viewpoints on current issues, rather than discussing current issues federal agencies are facing with these stakeholders. There undoubtedly are others who can better address current issues such as "home rule;" this detailed discussion appears to be outside our scope of inquiry.

Farmers:

- As with ranchers, we have not seen specific data regarding "newcomers" and "gentlemen" farmers; this type of quantitative assessment is also beyond our scope.
- As noted by the introduction, farm laborers were specifically not covered by this report. I understood that this topic had been addressed by another member of the Social Assessment Team. However, it may be worthwhile to cross-reference this work (based on any information we can obtain). It also may be appropriate to comment on increased permanency of the migrant population and divergent effects on social values for different types of farm operations.

Forestry Workers:

- As noted previously, we did not uncover much academic research in the short duration of our literature review. I would be interested in discussing how this information can be accessed.
- Quantitative assessments (e.g. of retraining, relocation, returning loggers, etc.) is beyond our scope.
- Special forest products research is being conducted separately (I believe in part by Hansis). Again, we could cross-reference if information can be obtained.
- I would agree that it is important to distinguish between loggers and millworkers. The terminology provided by Jon Bumstead has been "loggers," so this has been the primary focus of our research. However, we can distinguish between different subgroups of forest workers as part of a redraft.
- The topic of family importance and involvement in community affairs was also discussed (and debated) by citizens attending the April symposium. Our observations are drawn from extensive interviews for SWOT assessments in timber communities throughout Oregon and Washington, from prior social values interviews for a DEIS in Washington and from a prior USFS social values study. These sources can be appropriately end noted.
- More detailed discussion of the "interplay" between forestry worker commitment, to occupational group, family and community probably goes beyond our scope -- unless other empirical information can be made readily available.
- We can elaborate more on the small/large corporate conflict and effects on timber communities (as part of a redraft).

Fishers:

- Fishing as an occupational type proves to be a difficult topic to cover because, for all practical purposes, there currently is little or no commercial fishing activity east of the

Cascades. Consequently, information is drawn from coastal areas, which may not be particularly pertinent. This is a topic to discuss further.

Quality of Life Migrants:

- The point that there can be "overlap and blurring" between subgroups is well taken, and can be reflected in a redraft. However, this point is somewhat in conflict with a suggestion that "still more distinctions must be made."
- Rather than attempting to define additional subgroups, it may be more useful to better express the diversity and overlap -- thereby addressing some of the other comments made by the reviewer.
- Regarding retirees, it is useful to again discuss diversity of opinions. I note that the SWOTs (which are a significant source) do involve interviews with retirees (as community members) in addition to interviews with civic leaders and business owners. From 1989-1995, we have conducted more than 45 SWOT assessments in Oregon and Washington involving in excess of 1,000 total personal interviews -- with a broad cross-section of interests in each community (or place). We also have access to a number of SWOT assessments conducted by other individuals or organizations from which information has been drawn.

Visitors:

- The point that visitors' values have been discussed in context of "the market" is well taken. While this is certainly not the only perspective from which to view visitors' values, it can be a useful perspective, particularly because visitors' interests have been extensively researched by private sector tourism or visitor industry market analysts. If there is empirical research from other perspectives, I would be interested in adding this information.
- Local visitation and values can be viewed through the context of other communities of interest, rather than as non-residents (which has been the focus of this section). However, it is certainly appropriate to discuss both common interests as well as conflicts between local informal recreation and non-local tourism (as part of a re-draft).
- There has been no intentional attempt to portray visitors as either good or bad for basin communities, so I would be interested in identifying any specific inferences to this effect. Rather the focus is on identifying characteristics and values of non-residents who do visit the basin. It is beyond the scope of this report to discuss pros and cons of tourism for rural communities; but it certainly is within the scope to comment on the relationship of values for local residents versus outside visitors.

Options for Proceeding

Based on both these general observations and more specific community of interest comments, I would be interested in discussing options and any guidance you might have before proceeding.

Among the options are the following:

1. *Address comments consistent with above noted ideas as part of a revised final draft, but without significant additional literature review or quantitative research.*

   Purposes and limitations of our report would be more fully delineated as part of the report introduction.

   This approach reflects an expectation consistent with remaining budget availability. The existing budget should also be adequate to review and incorporate other appropriate academic or other research materials as can be provided to us without additional extensive research on our part. For example, we could make contacts with a selected list of academic interests that you identify.

   However, I note that even this additional work may be in conflict with the current "Technical Specifications" of our June 15, 1994 purchase order which calls for assistance in analyzing effects of alternative scenarios and EIS alternatives. We would need some indication that refinement of the Social Values analysis will substitute for the scenarios/EIS alternatives analysis component -- possibly as a written amendment or addendum to the purchase order.

2. *Conduct additional literature search, quantitative research and/or interview contacts within each community of interest -- possibly focusing on contacts with personnel associated with pertinent university research programs throughout the western U.S. to identify available related research documents.*

   Two particular aspects of research are missing which could help to better set the context for this experiential perspective: (a) direct personal interviews with a cross-section of persons from each community of interest throughout the Columbia Basin; and (b) a more detailed narrative of the historical roots and experiences (over the last 100-150 years) out of which current social values have evolved for each community of interest. In early discussions prior to getting underway, I had suggested a more extensive interview process to Jon Bumstead. However. the budget and time available (as of June 1994) precluded this approach. Depending on current schedule and budget considerations, it may be useful to re-evaluate the utility of an expanded research effort.

   This extended research option likely would require amending the project's scope of work, budget and schedule for completion (beyond November).

At this point, it also may be useful to recap the major deliverables we have provided to date:

- Literature Review and Data Collection (June 29, 1994)
- Social Science Data Dictionary for Communities of Interest (January 16, 1995)
- Communities of Interest & Their Social Values (February 10, 1995)

It would be helpful to discuss whether all (or some combination) of the above items should be combined into one document or if our focus is to be exclusively on updating the February Social Values report.